Can any of you imagine what it would be like to have your face pushed into a toilet just after you have been forced to watch a detective urinate in it? Or to have a plastic bag held over your head, cutting off your breathing, while officers hit you with telephone books? Or to be hung outside a window by police who hold the handcuffs on your ankles and wrists as they try to make you identify a car? And they already know that you were never involved in the crime?

Grayland Johnson doesn't have to imagine this kind of torture. He lived it.

Now he sits on death row on the basis of a "confession" that was tortured out of him by former Chicago police commander Jon Burge and his detectives.

The other Death Row 10 members you'll meet inside this pamphlet were also brutally tortured with similar techniques.

These stories represent the human cost of America's "tough on crime" policies, which have encouraged police, prosecutors, and state's attorneys to pursue convictions by any means necessary.

The stories of the Death Row 10 are simultaneously tales of corruption that touch the most powerful officials in Chicago and inspiring accounts of the struggles of these death row inmates, their family members, and activists whose fight for justice has fused with the national debate on the death penalty.

"It is now common knowledge that, in the early to mid-1980s, Jon Burge and many officers working under him regularly engaged in the physical abuse and torture of prisoners to extract confessions. Both internal police accounts and numerous lawsuits and appeals brought by suspects alleging such abuse substantiate that those beatings and other means of torture occurred as an established practice, not just on an isolated basis."

■ **U.S. District Court judge MILTON SHADUR, 1999**

"There are men who sit on death row today who were tortured by Chicago police officers.... The Death Row 10's stories of torture are horrific. It is heart wrenching that our society still accepts these practices."

■ **Reverend JESSE JACKSON, president of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition**

"For all of the positive developments in Illinois over the past several years, the Death Row 10 have yet to find justice...and have never been given their days in court to prove their allegations."

■ **LAWRENCE MARSHALL, legal director of the Center on Wrongful Convictions**

CAMPAIGN TO END THE DEATH PENALTY
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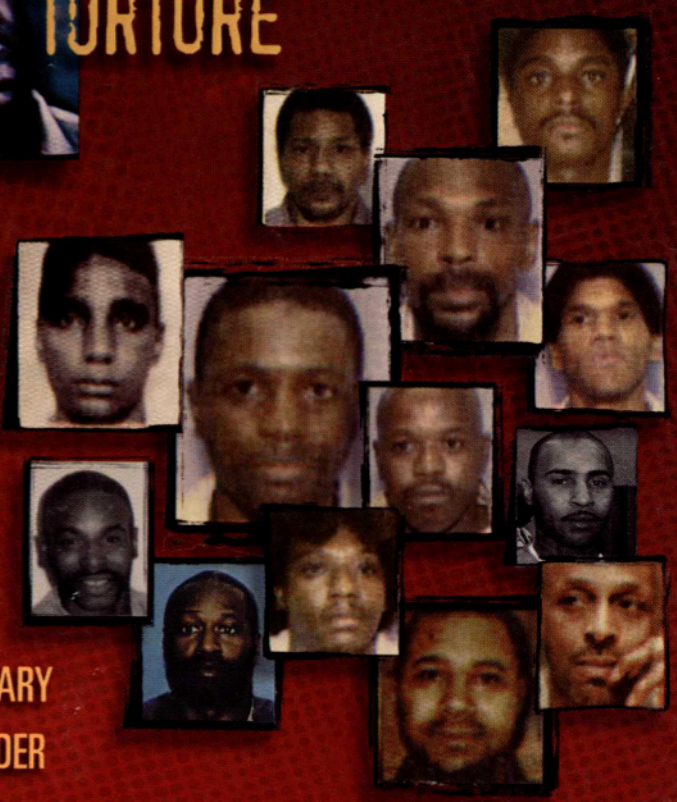
Justice for the Death Row 10

VICTIMS OF POLICE TORTURE



By JOAN PARKIN
and TONYA McCLARY
Edited by ERIC RUDER

A pamphlet by the CAMPAIGN TO END THE DEATH PENALTY

This pamphlet is dedicated to the memory of FRANK BOUNDS, one of the Death Row 10, who died of medical neglect on death row before he could win justice.

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Reach us at P.O. Box 25730, Chicago, IL 60625, at 773-955-4841 or on the Web at www.nodeathpenalty.org.

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Justice for the Death Row 10

VICTIMS OF POLICE TORTURE

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Introduction

Most would have difficulty believing that a country that trumpets itself as a beacon of democracy around the world could try, convict, and sentence to death victims of police torture. Yet, in the United States, in Chicago, Illinois, a group of men on death row—who call themselves the Death Row 10—were hooked to walls, beaten, kicked, and tortured with electrical current by a highly decorated police lieutenant and others under his direction. The lieutenant's goal was to get these men to "confess" to high-profile murders.

For 20 years, former Chicago police commander Jon Burge and his detectives used torture methods familiar to any war crimes tribunal to target Black men from Chicago's poorest neighborhoods. In 1993, to stem mounting criticism after 60 torture cases came to light, authorities forced Burge to resign. Yet there were no indictments. Two officers were suspended but later reinstated, and some of the detectives involved were actually promoted. Burge himself got off with a full pension and is now retired in Florida.

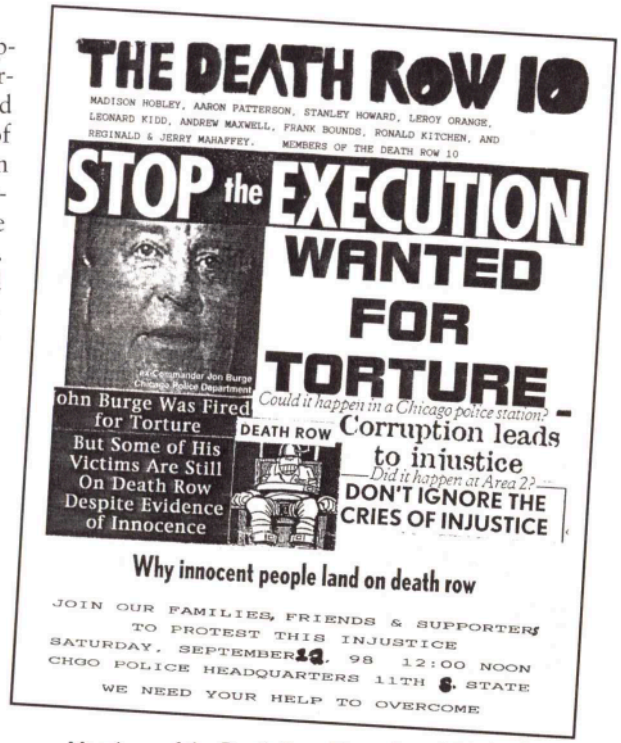
Because of this overwhelming corruption, relief has come only from outside the criminal justice system. Four of the Death Row 10 have won new hearings into aspects of their cases because family members, activists, and their attorneys have kept up the pressure on authorities—by speaking out and organizing meetings, rallies, and press conferences. And these gains have come only recently as part of the growing national unease about the death penalty. Yet, the fight is far from over. To date, the criminal justice system has yet to exonerate or grant a new trial for any of the Death Row 10.

In 1998, the Death Row 10 came together as a group and asked the Campaign to End the Death Penalty to be their voice on the outside. In June 1998, they decided to call for a rally and made a leaflet for it.

The aim of this pamphlet is to give the Death Row 10 an opportunity to tell their stories.

Since the Death Row 10 went public, three other men on death row have come forward with stories that connect them to the Death Row 10. But today, only 12 of the 13 survive. In a bitter irony, Frank Bounds died on death row of medical neglect the same year that he won a new hearing. Taken together, these 13 remarkably similar stories reveal a pattern of police torture, going back at least as far as 1979, that only could have happened with the collusion of corrupt detectives, prosecutors, and judges. Hopefully, the voices of the Death Row 10 will drown out the years of silence and cover-ups by officials and win these men the new trials they deserve.

The Death Row 10 need your help. If this pamphlet inspires you to join them in their campaign, then it has served its purpose. Inside these pages, you will find descriptions of police torture so horrific that they would be unbelievable if not for the dozens of identical stories from people who did not know one another. In the end, you may find the horror of the Illinois death penalty—a system so corrupt that it could cage victims of police torture in its death houses—enough to convince you to become part of the growing abolitionist movement in America.



Members of the Death Row 10 produced this leaflet and sent it to the Campaign to End the Death Penalty to help publicize their first rally. They assembled it by pasting together scraps of newspaper and flyers they had collected.

This is the tragic story of the Death Row 10—and why the state of Illinois is so willing to murder each of us as human sacrifices. This tragedy begins with murder—and the unforgotten victims and their families. Next, it leads to an unbelievable trail of police torture and abuse. And the tragedy concludes with the highest level of political and official corruption, misconduct, and cover-ups. If nothing is done to correct this injustice, the end result will surely be the premeditated, state-sanctioned murder of the Death Row 10. We are the forgotten victims—Madison Hobley, Aaron Patterson, Stanley Howard, Ronald Kitchen, Leroy Orange, Leonard Kidd, Andrew Maxwell, Derrick King, Jerry and Reginald Mahaffey, Grayland Johnson, Cortez Brown, and Frank Bounds (who died of cancer on death row).

This is the story of how we became linked in a common struggle to fight as one to correct the injustice perpetuated against us—first by the notorious Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge and many officers working under his command and then by the judicial system that allowed this injustice to occur and yet refuses to correct it even after the injustice has become common knowledge. The author of these words prays that this story will forever leave you questioning a person's guilt when it's based upon an alleged confession. Please join the Death Row 10 and their families, friends, and supporters in the fight to correct this injustice.

■ **Written by a member of the Death Row 10 for inclusion in this pamphlet**

Police Torture in Chicago

Former police commander Jon Burge

In the dark of night on April 30, 1986, Aaron Patterson used a paper clip to scratch these words on a bench in Chicago's Area 2 police station: "Aaron 4/30...I lie about murders...police threaten me with violence...slapped and suffocated with plastic...no lawyer or dad...no phone."

Patterson never signed the confession that police wrote for him that night. Interrogated for 25 hours without a defense attorney, he says, "The lights were turned off, and three detectives...put a plastic typewriter cover over my face to suffocate me. While I was being suffocated, other detectives kicked and punched me. Or restrained me so I could not resist." Patterson also testified that a "red-haired" officer entered the room and threatened him with a gun.

The red-haired officer was Lieutenant Jon Burge, the leader of the police torture ring. Burge's involvement and the details of Patterson's story are what connect the Death Row 10 to each other. But not everyone who suffered torture at the hands of Burge and his fellow detectives at Chicago's Area 2 and 3 police headquarters ended up on death row. In fact, more than 60 others had "confessions" tortured out of them that led to convictions and sentences other than the death penalty.

"The preponderance of evidence is that abuse did occur and that it was systematic...that the type of abuse described was not limited to the usual beatings but went into such esoteric areas as psychological techniques and planned torture...and that particular command members were aware of the systematic abuse and perpetuated it either by actively participating in some or failing to take any action to bring it to an end."
■ MICHAEL GOLDSTON, Chicago Police Department investigator and author of report about Burge's torture ring

Burge learned about electric shock "interrogation" while torturing Vietnamese prisoners during his service in the U.S. military. The torturer attaches alligator clips to the victim's testicles, ear lobes, or other extremities. The clips are connected to long wires through which a current flows when a handle is cranked on a little black box that acts as a generator. But Burge and the other detectives employed a variety of "interrogation" methods. For example, they would play Russian roulette, the notorious police practice of putting a revolver in a detainee's mouth and pulling the trigger again and again. Or they would use a typewriter bag to suffocate a victim until he lost consciousness, allow him to revive, and then start all over again. Sometimes, they would press their hostages against hot radiators or burn them with cattle prods. Or they would beat them with telephone books and sticks. Or urinate on them while their heads were stuck in toilet bowls. Or hang them, handcuffed, out a window. As Joey Mogul from the People's Law Office said recently at a Death Row 10 rally, "I'm talking about electro-shock to the lips and genitals, suffocation known as bagging—torture that you hear about going on in so-called Third World countries—on the South Side of Chicago."

Andrew Wilson's case: The tip of the iceberg

Although these torture techniques were designed to leave no marks, after two decades, detectives finally went too far. While investigating a 1989 double police murder, detectives beat one of their suspects, Andrew Wilson, so badly that he needed to be hospitalized. Wilson's allegations of police torture would certainly have been ignored—as had many others in the past—if it weren't for a crucial break in his case. When Wilson filed a civil rights lawsuit against the city of Chicago, his attorney, Flint Taylor from the People's Law Office, received an anonymous tip written on Chicago Police Department letterhead. The tip suggested that Taylor should speak to Cook County Jail inmate Melvin Jones. Jones described a torture session with shocking similarities to Wilson's case and then directed Taylor to other cases. Over the course of Wilson's trial, Taylor uncovered 60 cases going back to 1983 that showed a pattern of systematic torture. This vindicated Wilson's claims and implicated Burge and his detectives in the brutality.

After Wilson won his suit, the Chicago Police Department launched its own investigation in response to ongoing public pressure. The police department's internal affairs division, the Office of Professional Standards (OPS), conducted a review and issued the Goldston Report in 1990. This report concluded that there was indeed "systematic" abuse beyond the usual kinds of brutality, including "planned torture" and the complicity of other commanders who were either involved in or knew about the torture and took no action.

Both the police superintendent at that time, LeRoy Martin, and the current Chicago mayor, Richard Daley (who was a state's attorney from 1980 to 1989, at which time he became mayor), fought to keep the contents of the report secret. But protests by anti–police brutality activists and extensive media coverage prevented any cover-up. Finally, a federal judge ordered the report released to the public, which led to the forced resignation of Jon Burge in 1993.

Activists had scored a major victory, but justice was not served. Although the OPS report acknowledged that command members were "aware of" and had "perpetuated" the torture, only two other officers, Detectives O'Hara and Youcaitis, were suspended, and even they were reinstated later. And though the "preponderance of evidence" led OPS to conclude that systematic torture had occurred, most of Burge's victims remain in prison or on death row.

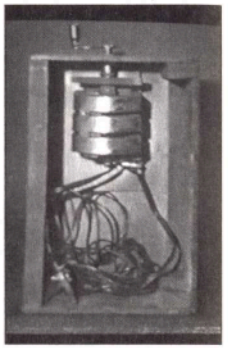
Powerful enemies

How could this happen? How could an official investigation substantiate allegations of police torture yet leave the victims of that torture in prison or, worse, awaiting execution? And how could this barbarism have gone on for so long in the first place? The answers to these questions go to the heart of how the criminal justice system works. In theory, the judicial system applies a set of laws equally to

"That systematic torture of suspects at Area 2 and Area 3 occurred under the reign of terror during Jon Burge's command has been established beyond doubt. The highest Illinois and federal courts have acknowledged as much. State's Attorney [Richard] Devine's refusal to allow new suppression hearings and new trials for the Death Row 10—and instead to seek their executions—is unconscionable."
■ RICHARD CUNNINGHAM, attorney for Ronald Kitchen, member of the Death Row 10

all who come before it. In reality, some people are more equal than others. Those with the money to hire powerful and experienced lawyers have a much better chance at receiving justice. And those without resources can find themselves at the mercy of prosecutors whose promotions and "career development" depend on getting convictions.

But as the cases of the Death Row 10 show, the inequalities of the criminal justice system aren't limited to how good or bad a defendant's lawyer is. The Death Row 10 didn't have a chance to meet with lawyers before detectives hauled them in as suspects, assumed they were guilty, and tortured them until they "confessed." The Death Row 10 fit the profile that detectives and prosecutors use to identify criminals: all of them Black, most of them extremely poor and from Chicago's South Side. Even if the prosecutors who took these "confessions" in some cases knew about the police torture, they didn't want to blow the whistle on Burge, because his methods helped to ensure convictions during trial. Furthermore, the law-and-order appeals used by both Democrats and Republicans seeking office have created a climate hostile to basic civil liberties—liberties, it is argued, that get in the way of the "war on crime." Thus, prosecutors and other law enforcement officials assumed that even if Burge was occasionally overzealous, the "perps" that he helped them to convict deserved what they got. In this sense, the atrocities committed by Area 2 and 3 detectives are not a sadistic aberration in an otherwise adequate criminal justice system. Rather, they grow out of a corrupt, racist, and broken-down death penalty system.


Implement of torture: "black box" generator like the one used by Jon Burge

In the cases of the Death Row 10, the conspiracy of silence about the injustices they have endured goes all the way to the top. In fact, more than 100 people—including police and prosecutors—attended a fundraiser for Burge's legal defense and donated money to his cause. Richard Daley used the prosecutor's office as a stepping-stone to the job of Chicago mayor. He left the prosecutor's office with a full résumé of convictions based on coerced confessions—including those of the Death Row 10. Prosecutor Daley's right-hand man, Richard Devine, was subsequently elected state's attorney of Cook County. There is no doubt that these officials knew what was going on. Prosecutors routinely visit police stations during interrogations in high-profile murder investigations. Both Daley and Devine heard complaints of abuse on a regular basis. And Devine actually worked for the law office of Phelan, Pope and John, which defended Burge during the OPS investigation.

Thus, the Death Row 10 have some powerful enemies who have a vested interest in thwarting justice.

Meet the Death Row 10

The Death Row 10 today are very different from the young men who walked onto death row more than a dozen years ago. Back in the early 1980s, when most of them were tortured and convicted, they had no idea that there were others who had been tortured as they had. Today, most of them work on their cases, and some have become jailhouse lawyers—working extensively on their own cases from behind bars and helping others with their cases. Some are deeply religious—reading the Koran or the Bible to sustain themselves in their fight for justice.

Today, Reginald Mahaffey is so ill that he won't be able even to read this pamphlet. His brother, Jerry Mahaffey, is alone at Menard Prison—infamous for its deplorable conditions and tough restrictions—and can't converse with the other members of the Death Row 10. Grayland Johnson just returned to death row after waiting six years at Cook County Jail for a resentencing hearing. Andrew Maxwell spends most of his time reading books and articles about history. Aaron Patterson is in permanent segregation away from all other inmates—with severe restrictions on visits, phone calls, and personal property—for protesting his treatment. Many keep their sanity through reading, while others pursue music or painting. They are all fathers, sons, or husbands.

Illinois houses its death row inmates in four maximum-security prisons: Pontiac, Menard, Tamms, and Dwight Correctional Centers. Like most death row inmates in America, the Death Row 10 spend 23 hours a day in cells so narrow the men can almost touch opposite walls with their arms outstretched. There is a bed, a toilet, and a desk. All of their possessions must fit into a box the size of a small trunk or be thrown out. Those without any restrictions are granted the "privilege" of watching TV, listening to the radio, or reading. They have access to a library with a meager selection of books. As a form of punishment, the guards may lock an inmate in "segregation." Once in segregation, they lose many of their privileges. The routine seizure of personal possessions such as TVs and radios increases while in segregation.

At the slightest infraction, a guard may issue a reprimand, or "ticket." Prisoners are sent to segregation once they accumulate a certain number of tickets.

The usual amount required is six, but inmates are sent to segregation with as few as three. The infractions are often petty, and tickets are issued at the whims of the guards. Ronnie Kitchen was put in segregation for hanging a damp sheet in his cell to air it out. Aaron Patterson, who has been targeted for his outspokenness, is scheduled to be in segregation until the year 2020. He is behind a door of solid steel, while most segregated inmates are behind a regular barred door. All death row prisoners get one hour per day outside where they can mill about or shoot baskets, but the segregated inmates have to spend that hour outside in a cage with only monkey bars for amusement. Before every visit from family members or loved ones, segregated inmates must endure a strip search—even when the visit takes place through Plexiglas.

Crackdown

Throughout the 1990s, the Illinois correctional system instituted a statewide prison crackdown as part of a general attack on the rights of defendants and prisoners. Policies that had been on the books for years but were never enforced were suddenly put into effect. When the moratorium on the death penalty was implemented on January 31, 2000, there were several lockdowns on Menard's death row. This hostile climate has put the Death Row 10, who are involved in fighting for justice from the inside, at risk. All death row prisoners are now shackled to their seats during visits. Segregated inmates, who used to receive unlimited visits per month, can receive only two visits for a two-hour duration. They can't wear jeans or sneakers with colors, nor are they allowed to have any yarn to crochet. And this is statewide. At Pontiac prison, officials arbitrarily suspended weekly law classes, where inmates who are versed in the law helped others with their cases.

The implementation of these arbitrary punishments and restrictions has made it more difficult for the Death Row 10 to organize from the inside at a time when their faces are appearing in national publications and on television news shows. Death Row 10 members have been covered on "60 Minutes," in the *Chicago Tribune*, in an advertising campaign by United Colors of Benetton, as part of a Geraldo Rivera special segment on NBC called "Deadly Justice," in a CNN special report on the Death Row 10, and in the *Chicago Sun-Times*. In addition, mothers of the Death Row 10 are organizers of and participants in growing marches and demonstrations against the abuses of the criminal injustice system in general and of the death penalty in particular.

Here are the individual stories of the Death Row 10.

Aaron Patterson

Date of torture: April 30, 1986

The publicity surrounding Aaron's case poses a threat to the facade put up by police, prosecutors, and judges trying to cover up the torture that has sent innocent people to death row. Bound, beaten, and suffocated, Aaron still did not confess to the crime for which he was sentenced to death. Aaron's attorney, Flint Taylor of the People's Law Office, was able to obtain a photo of the words Aaron scratched into a police bench proclaiming his innocence. Because of the merits of Aaron's case and the history of systematic police torture at Area 2 where Aaron was tortured, the Illinois Supreme Court has granted him a hearing.

Judge John Morrissey—one of the most corrupt judges in Illinois—presided over Aaron's original trial and sentencing hearing. Morrissey refused to allow Aaron's defense team to introduce evidence that Aaron was tortured and that his confession was therefore unreliable. In 1989, Morrissey sentenced Aaron to death. In 1997, Morrissey rejected

Aaron Patterson

Aaron's nightmare became a reality on April 30, 1986, at Area 2 police headquarters. Because he refused to repeat the lies that detectives told him to say, he was beaten and suffocated with a plastic typewriter cover. Burge also pulled a gun on him. Burge threatened Aaron because Aaron refused to tell an assistant state's attorney what Burge and his detectives wanted him to say. He refused to confess on tape, and he would not sign the confession that police wrote up.

Even after finding physical evidence at the crime scene—a fingerprint on a radio and three different bloody footwear impressions—that did not belong to Aaron or to either of the victims, Aaron was convicted of this crime. Now the prosecutor and Chicago police refuse to turn over exculpatory evidence to Aaron's defense team for testing. Why hide it unless they know it will show who the actual killers are?

After Aaron had scratched his plea for help onto the bench, a red-haired officer—later identified by Aaron as former Lieutenant Jon Burge—brought an assistant state's attorney into the interview room and then stepped outside. Aaron said he wanted a lawyer. The assistant state's attorney walked to the door and told Burge that Aaron did not want to make a statement. When he left, Burge told Aaron that he was "fucking up." He put a handgun on the table and said, "We told you if you don't do what we tell you to, you're going to get something worse than before." He said if Aaron ever tried to reveal what happened, "It's your word against our word. And who are they going to believe, you or us?"

Aaron's post-conviction petition for a new trial. Today, Morrissey has become such an embarrassment to Cook County that he has been yanked from the bench in the criminal division and is only allowed to preside over contract disputes. In the early 1980s, Morrissey, as a prosecutor, fabricated evidence against Paul Steven Linscott, who was wrongly convicted and later released. Morrissey also made racist remarks during Aaron's original trial, using language similar to that which earned him a reprimand in another case. He even denied a DNA test for death row inmate Ronald Jones, saying, "What issue could possibly be resolved by DNA testing?" As it turns out, Jones' DNA test eventually proved his innocence, and in January 2000, he became the 12th Illinois inmate released from death row since 1976. Jones' release hastened Illinois Governor George Ryan's decision to declare a moratorium on executions. Morrissey also stepped down as judge in Darrell Cannon's hearing—Cannon is another victim of former police commander Jon Burge—due to a controversy caused by remarks he had made.

The state has no case against Aaron. They have no prints or weapon. The only witness against Aaron, 15-year-old Marva Hall, has since recanted her original testimony on the grounds that it was coerced by police. The police "misplaced" bloody footprint and fingerprint evidence that proved someone else did the crime. David Protess, a journalism professor at Northwestern University, is now investigating Aaron's case. Protess and his students previously won the release of Anthony Porter, who became the 10th exonerated death row inmate in Illinois.

Aaron was featured on the television news program "60 Minutes II" on December 12, 1999, and in a *Newsweek* article on May 31, 1999. A 1989 Amnesty International report on police misconduct in the U.S. featured Aaron's case of police torture. They have also submitted

an amicus brief on his behalf.

Please use the following information to contact Aaron: Aaron Patterson Defense Committee, 59 East Van Buren, Suite #2418, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone: 312-409-4076. E-mail: akostec@nwu.edu.

Stanley Howard

Date of torture: November 3, 1984

Stanley Howard was sentenced to death at age 24. The evidence against him was a "confession" tortured out of him at Area 2 police headquarters. Stanley has maintained his innocence and, with the help of his mother, Jeanette Johnson, has been fighting to clear his name. "I am very lucky to have mom standing with me. Nothing could have been done without her help," Stanley says. In his fight for justice, he has become knowledgeable in legal matters and spends a lot of time helping other inmates with their cases.

As described earlier, Burge's torture techniques were designed to leave no trail of evidence. But Stanley has obtained affidavits from doctors who treated him both before and after his torture, and they confirm his torture claims. He also has affidavits from people who heard his screams at the police station on the night he was tortured. Even more importantly, attorney Flint Taylor discovered an internal police document showing that a 1994 OPS investigation substantiated Stanley's torture claims, according to an April 4, 1999, story by *Chicago Tribune* reporter Steve Mills. Moreover, the documents show how Tom Needham, in his capacity as general counsel to the police superintendent, signed a note closing the file after only a cursory review. This should come as little surprise, since Needham served as a prosecutor under State's Attorney Daley and later became an aide to Mayor Daley. Police Superintendent Terry Hillard later testified that it "was against police department policy for the general counsel to dismiss" the OPS investigation. Now Needham sits on the Governor's Commission on Capital Punishment, which was established by Governor Ryan to investigate the Illinois death penalty system and to make recommendations on how to address the appalling number of wrongful convictions and other injustices it exhibits.

One would think that any investigator caught concealing evidence would be suspended or at least reprimanded. But in Chicago, investigators like Needham are not punished, but rewarded. Needham was recently promoted to chief of staff for Chicago Police Superintendent Terry Hillard—yet another example of the corrupt networks that link prosecutors, politicians, and law enforcement officials.

Prosecutors say that Stanley Howard shot and killed a man in a parked car because the man refused to give him a cigarette. This story seems dubious enough, but Stanley didn't even know the victim. And there are serious doubts about the ability of the only eyewitness to see the killer's face. The judge squelched Stanley's motion to suppress his "confession," so the jury—which never heard Stanley's claims of torture—took the word of police and prosecutors over that of a man they portrayed as a predator. Incredibly, Stanley's judge and public defender were also former Area 2 police officers, but they never revealed their conflicts of interest.

Stanley Howard

Stanley was handcuffed to a ring on the wall, and when he denied having any involvement in the crime, Detective James Lotito became enraged and started slapping and punching him. Soon, Detectives Lotito and Ronald Boffo and Sergeant John Byrne were all slapping and punching him.

They then started spoon-feeding Stanley information about the crime and telling him to confess. When Stanley refused, Lotito went and got a plastic bag and placed it over his head. Once they realized the plastic bag had a hole in it, a plastic typewriter cover was wrapped around his head. One hand was placed over his mouth and nose, another was wrapped around his neck, and they proceeded to lift him off the floor. The handcuffs dug deep into his wrists because he was still handcuffed to the wall, causing him to kick and wriggle in pain in an attempt to break free and breathe. The other two began punching him again.

The next thing Stanley remembers is Lotito slapping him across the face, trying to wake him because he had blacked out. When he still refused to confess, Stanley was again approached with the plastic typewriter cover. Before he was suffocated again, he agreed to say or sign anything they wanted him to.

Ronald Kitchen

Date of torture: July 25, 1988

"How can we, as a civilized people, stand and watch these horrendous wrongs and injustices perpetuated in the name of justice? We have to come together in solidarity to change the wrongs that have been done and make them right."
■ RONALD KITCHEN

No witnesses and no physical evidence link Ronnie to the murders for which he was sent to death row. Ronnie only "confessed" after a horrific beating, which put his groin in a sling for three weeks and made it difficult for him to walk for three months. His mother—who has been the heart and soul in his fight for freedom—recently suffered her third stroke.

The prosecutor who came to the police station to approve charges against Ronnie ignored his obvious injuries and later testified that Ronnie was in good health and never complained to him about being tortured. Ronnie fared no better with his judge, who ruled Ronnie's motion to suppress the confession inadmissible. The doctor who treated Ronnie for his injuries has since signed an affidavit that Ronnie complained that police hit him in the groin with fists, knees, and a nightstick, that he had urinated blood, and that his testicles were painfully swollen. Ronnie also had a solid alibi, but his trial attorney so thoroughly botched an explanation of it that the jury was left to conclude that he had no alibi at all.

Ronnie's conviction relied on the testi-

Ronald Kitchen

Ronnie's nightmare began on July 25, 1988, when he was picked up on his way home from the store. He was taken to Area 3 and handcuffed to the wall of an interview room.

After Ronnie refused to confess to a crime that he didn't commit, detectives proceeded to beat him without mercy. Detective John Smith, Detective Michael Kill, and Jon Burge said, "We have ways of making niggers talk." One officer came into the room with a blackjack and a telephone book, which was used to hit Ronnie repeatedly in the groin and on the head. Any time Ronnie asked to call his lawyer, officers would hit him with the blackjack.

Officer Kill repeated the torture method again and again and finally said, "You're going to do what we want you to do." To stop the pain, Ronnie told them what they wanted to hear. It took three months of medical treatment to recover from his injuries.

mony of Willie Williams, a jailhouse snitch who said that Ronnie confessed to him during a phone conversation. But telephone company records show no call from Williams to Ronnie, according to a *Chicago Tribune* report. In addition, in more than half a dozen later conversations recorded on tape between Williams and Ronnie, Ronnie makes no mention of the crime. Jailhouse snitches are notoriously unreliable because the reward of a lesser sentence in exchange for false and incriminating testimony is so seductive. The *Chicago Tribune* featured Ronnie's case as an example of how these dirty deals work.

Ronnie recently won a post-conviction appeal before the Illinois Supreme Court that will send his case back to a lower court. This will open the door to a fuller inquiry into his torture and wrongful conviction claims.

Madison Hobley

Detective Robert Dwyer placed Madison in an interview room, handcuffed him to a ring on the wall, and began to physically abuse and racially harass him. Madison says that all three officers—Dwyer, James Lotito and Daniel McWeeney—then escorted him to another interview room where he was again handcuffed. Dwyer handcuffed Madison's wrists so tightly that it hurt. When he said that his handcuffs were too tight, the officers hit and kicked him and told him to confess. Detective Dwyer hit and punched him repeatedly in the stomach, chest, and face. Madison also stated that Dwyer pushed his thumbs against his throat. Lotito then put a plastic typewriter bag over Madison's head until he blacked out.

Three lawyers made repeated attempts to locate Madison the night he was tortured. One of his lawyers, Steven Stern, was finally allowed to see him and saw the injuries on his wrists. Madison told him that the police had beaten and "bagged" him and that they were trying to force him to confess, but that he kept telling them that he didn't do it.

Madison Hobley

Date of torture: January 6, 1987

"I didn't do it. They got the wrong person. I didn't do it. I worked hard, I respected the law, please don't turn your back. Help make a stand against police brutality and injustice."
■ MADISON HOBLEY

Madison Hobley, a former baseball player who was nominated for a scholarship at the University of Southern Illinois, lost his wife and son to a fire in his apartment building that killed seven people. The fire occurred in the early morning, and Madison—who had helped occupants flee the building—was brought in for questioning within 24 hours. He never returned home. Madison was fingered by Andre Council, who had two warrants out for his arrest at the time of the fire, and Kenneth Stewart, who later signed an affidavit stating that he had been coerced into fingering Madison. Despite a near-fatal beating, Madison never signed a confession. No written or taped confession was ever produced at his trial because, police said, their notes were destroyed. Nonetheless, prosecutors went ahead and used unreliable witnesses and an alleged confession to win a conviction.

The only physical evidence that police claimed linked Madison to the crime was a gas can used to start the fire. But police concealed test results proving that fingerprints on the gas can didn't belong to Madison. Racism also loomed large in Madison's case. The jury consisted of 10 whites, one African American, and one Latino. And Matthew Evans—a former police officer—appointed himself jury foreman without a vote. He frequently displayed his gun, which intimidated other jurors. He made one juror change her acquit vote to guilty. In addition, jurors violated court orders, frequently reading newspapers and interacting with strangers during the trial. In one instance, jurors were visibly shaken when some strangers approached them in a hotel restaurant and said, "He's guilty, just hang him!"

In spring 2000, Madison won an evidentiary hearing to investigate the improper and illegal use by police and prosecutors of evidence such as the gas can. Geraldo Rivera and a local NBC news special have profiled his case. But the court declined to hear Madison's claims of torture, even though photographs of Madison after his interrogation reveal scrapes on his wrists and a bruise on his chest.

Leroy Orange

On January 12, 1984, for almost 12 hours, Leroy was slapped, shocked, and suffocated at Area 2 police headquarters by a group of Chicago police officers that included Jon Burge.

On that day, Leroy had been arrested by police investigating a multiple homicide. At the time of his arrest, Leroy—who had no adult criminal history—was a self-employed housepainter and maintenance man who lived with his wife and two children. On his way to the police station, a police officer struck Leroy in the mouth after he asked for a lawyer.

At the station, Leroy denied his involvement in the murders. Police officers then shocked Leroy with a black box after placing electrodes on his arms and in his rectum. The police also placed an airtight bag over Leroy's head and squeezed his testicles.

After twelve hours of abuse, Leroy submitted to the officers' demands and made a confession. Along with codefendant Leonard Kidd, Leroy was subsequently charged with homicide, concealment of a homicidal death, aggravated arson, and armed robbery.

Leroy Orange

Date of torture: January 12, 1984

"And telling the truth shall set me free. I have been wrongfully convicted of a crime that was pasted on the walls of my life. I was robbed of my life and my family. But my dignity lives, as I to continue to seek justice. For the race is not given to the swift, nor the strong, but to the one who endures to the end. I plan to endure until justice prevails, and regain what's rightfully mine—my life, my family, and justice for all."
■ LEROY ORANGE

At his first court appearance—held merely hours after the police had stopped torturing him—Leroy complained to presiding judge Matthew Moran that he had suffered injuries during his interrogation. When the judge inquired into the nature of the injuries, Leroy replied: "I got pin marks on my butt. Only bruise I got to show. Other things happened. That is all that is visible right now." Jeffrey Howard, who represented Leroy on January 14, 1984, recalls that either Leroy or Leonard Kidd told him that he had been electro-shocked by police using a "black box."

Leroy was later represented by Earl Washington, an attorney who was working alone and did not have the resources to mount a defense in a multiple murder capital case. Shortly after Washington

started working on Leroy's case, Leroy told Washington about the torture he had experienced. Washington later asserted that he would present evidence to "establish a pattern of physical torture" by the police. Despite his pledge, he never attempted to do so. Instead, he conducted only a skimpy investigation into Leroy's claims. Washington failed to pursue or litigate a motion to suppress Leroy's statement. The Attorney Registration and Disciplinary Commission has levied charges against Washington for his substandard performance in Leroy's case as well as in others.

Leroy was convicted and sentenced to death. Other than Leonard Kidd's confession, which he had recanted, the only evidence presented against Leroy at his trial was his own coerced confession. There were no eyewitnesses to the crime. There was no physical evidence linking Leroy to the crime. Leroy's fingerprints were not found on the murder weapon or at the crime scene. No blood was found on any of his clothing.

Ever since he first complained about the police torture at his first court appearance, Leroy has consistently described the torture he endured. For the past 15 years, he has told judges, attorneys, investigators, doctors, family members, and friends about the abuse he suffered at the hands of Burge and his men. Despite Leroy's repeated claims of torture, he has never received a hearing on those claims. He currently is awaiting a decision by the Illinois Supreme Court on whether he will finally have an opportunity to present evidence of his torture at a hearing.

Leonard Kidd

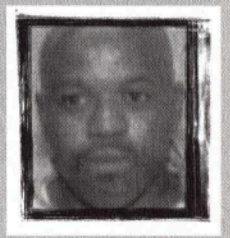
Date of torture: January 12, 1984

Leonard Kidd is in permanent segregation from the other inmates. Treated no better than an animal, he gets six or seven hours outside per week.

Leonard suffered the same fate as his codefendant and half brother Leroy. He, too, was picked up and taken to Area 2 police headquarters and tortured with the electric generator. Although there was a photograph of a mark on Leonard's forehead after he was tortured, the judge in his case ruled it inadmissible.

Not only was he tortured with electrical current, but he also had the incompetent Washington for an attorney. Just as in Leroy's case, Washington filed no motions and mounted no investigation in Leonard's defense. Washington's feeble defense ensured that Leonard would be found guilty and sentenced to death row.

Leonard Kidd



They told him that they weren't playing with his "black ass," and one of them hit him in the groin while he was handcuffed to a pole. He was asked if he would tell them about the killings that he and his brother supposedly did.

When Leonard continued to deny his involvement, Burge came back into the room and gave an officer a black bag to put over Leonard's head until he was almost out of air and couldn't breath. Leonard thought he was going to die. One of the officers again asked him to confess, and he said, "No." The police wouldn't let up, and one of them was trying to pull his pants down.

He pulled something out of a bag and tried to put it in his backside, but was unable to because of Leonard's struggling.

One of the officers connected something to Leonard's penis. When he was finally successful in turning over on his backside, Leonard was able to see that the wires connected to his penis were connected to a black box.

He had the feeling they were about to kill him. He was electrically shocked with this thing a few times and kept screaming and hollering, trying to get up after each time he was shocked.

To stop the pain, he told them he'd do whatever they wanted him to.

Andrew Maxwell

Date of torture: November 12, 1986

"It is now common knowledge that in the early to mid-1980's, Jon Burge and many officers working under him regularly engaged in the physical abuse and torture of prisoners to extract confessions. Both internal police accounts and numerous lawsuits and appeals brought by suspects alleging such abuse substantiate that those beatings and other means of torture occurred as an established practice, not just on an isolated basis."
■ Judge MILTON SHADUR, 1999

Andrew Maxwell's habeas corpus petition is pending in front of Judge Shadur, and he was granted an evidentiary proceeding in March 1998, making him the first of the Death Row 10 to win a hearing into the torture complaints since they began their campaign. Andrew has a strong faith that through God he will win justice.

On November 4, 1986, Andrew was arrested with two other men for his alleged participation in a robbery. Approximately one week later, homicide detectives transferred the three codefendants from Cook County Jail to Area 2 headquarters for questioning in connection with a murder. Andrew and his two codefendants, Jerry Thompson and Gregory Howard, testified that they were not permitted to call a lawyer or family member. They were then kicked, punched, threat-

Andrew Maxwell

On November 12, 1986, a detective by the name of John Paladino and another detective not clearly identified kidnapped Andrew from the Cook County Jail lockup. He was taken to Area 2 police headquarters and denied opportunities to contact his attorney.

When he arrived at Area 2 at about noon, he was placed in an interrogation room alone for about an hour before he was even told why he was there. An hour later, he was placed in the interrogation room, and one arm was cuffed to the wall. Detective Paladino and another detective came into the room and asked him what he had to say about a murder that had happened three weeks earlier. Andrew told them he knew nothing about a murder and that he wanted to contact his attorney.

Each time he asked for his attorney, the detectives became more agitated and aggressive. One detective jumped at him as if he was going to hit him, and Detective Paladino grabbed Andrew's coat and pulled it over his head so he couldn't see anything. They repeatedly pounded on his head, face, and stomach and choked him. Then, after they were finished, they pulled his coat off his head and asked if he was ready to talk yet. They stormed out of the room, saying, "Before you leave here today, you will be telling us what we want to know."

Approximately 30 minutes later, they came back in, repeating the same line of interrogation and torture. They did this on six or seven occasions until they finally broke him, and he told them what they wanted him to say. They showed him some pieces of paper and told him to sign them.

Today, Andrew says that if he had known then what he knows now, they would have had to beat him to death before he signed anything—now knowing that death was their main objective.

ened, and slapped while handcuffed to a wall during interrogation. Andrew has photographs that show injuries sustained during his interrogation. After approximately 10 hours of interrogation, all three gave incriminating statements to the police. Andrew's codefendants pleaded guilty and will be out in several years.

Derrick King

Date of torture: February 23, 1980

Derrick King was arrested in 1980 and convicted of a murder that occurred during a holdup of a store. He was arrested long after the incident and interrogated by Area 2 police officers, who hit him with a telephone book, kicked him, and used psychological tactics designed to induce him to confess. At the sentencing hearing, Derrick's lawyer failed to call family members and friends who had compelling information about Derrick's upbringing and background.

Derrick's post-conviction petition was dismissed. In June 2000, the Illinois Supreme Court reversed the dismissal, holding that Derrick King—like others who suffered abuse at Area 2—was entitled to a hearing on his claim that his confession was coerced. The Illinois Supreme Court also remanded the case for a hearing to determine whether Derrick received effective assistance of counsel at sentencing.

Derrick's main source of support is his mother, Juanita Rhymes, who visits Derrick regularly to talk and read him the Bible.

Reginald Mahaffey

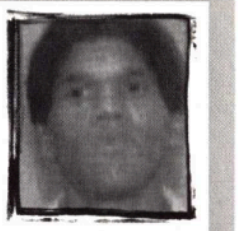
Date of torture: September 2, 1983

Reginald Mahaffey is extremely ill. While Reginald was in custody at the Cook County Jail awaiting trial, he was dropped while handcuffed from a second-story window. The fall injured his head, broke a number of ribs, and ruptured his spleen. He was in a coma for about six weeks. Police maintain that he fell or tried to commit suicide, but it is incredulous that a man would try to kill himself by jumping out of a second-story window. As a result of the fall, Reginald has developed organic brain damage. While at the Cook County Jail, he set fire to his cell and stored feces and vomit there. There is no record that Reginald suffered any psychological problems before the fall.

There was no physical evidence linking Reginald to the crime or witnesses to place him at the scene. Last year, Chicago attorney Jed Stone and the Campaign to End the Death Penalty submitted an amicus brief on behalf of Reginald to the Illinois Supreme Court. The court accepted the brief, which describes Reginald's torture complaints, and it will be entered into his permanent record. Recently, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled that, even without the confession, there is enough evidence to uphold Reginald's conviction. In other words, the fact that Reginald was tortured was ruled immaterial to the court.

Today Reginald is heavily medicated and has little contact with the outside world.

Reginald Mahaffey



Reginald was taken into custody with his brother Jerry on September 2, 1983. He was held in custody for hours while detectives threatened, kicked, and beat him until he "confessed" to a double murder and burglary. Despite repeated requests, he was denied access to an attorney.

Jerry Mahaffey

Date of Torture: September 2, 1983

Jerry Mahaffey, who testified that Area 2 police had beaten him, was convicted and sentenced to death by an all-white jury. Prosecutors used "peremptory challenges" to exclude all seven African Americans from the jury. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit sent the case back to the state trial court to decide whether the prosecutors' exclusion of African American jurors was unconstitutional.

Grayland Johnson

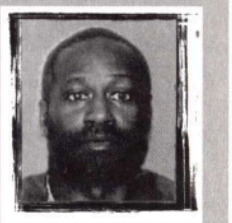
Date of torture: April 17, 1988

"It's not just about the Death Row 10. It's about everyone sentenced to die under a statute which is unfairly administrated by people who circumvent the laws to gain convictions."
■ GRAYLAND JOHNSON

"No, I don't like remembering what they did, nor the fact I was scared to tell the doctor all they done 'cause the police was there, and I feared they would take me back and finish....
I don't like to remember because I was such a coward not to make them kill me right there!"
■ GRAYLAND JOHNSON

On April 17, 1988, Grayland was illegally arrested by Detectives Nick Crescenzo and Craig Cegielski and taken to the Area 3 station house 30 miles from his home in Chicago Heights, Illinois. He was handcuffed to a ring on the wall and subsequently tortured. Unbelievably, prosecutors actually used someone else's medical records in

Grayland Johnson



Grayland was driven to Area 3 police station in Chicago, some 20 to 30 miles from his home and handcuffed to a ring in the wall by detectives. Police ran handcuffs through his shoestrings, put handcuffs on his wrists, and the other end of the handcuff attached to his gym shoes was cuffed to the ring on the wall. He was questioned and hit with a very thick book. With a telephone book laid on his head, he was hit with a long black flashlight. A plastic bag was placed over his head until he nearly suffocated. He still refused to talk. He asked for a telephone call, a lawyer.

Grayland was then released from the ring and taken to a toilet area where a detective opened a window. He was pushed toward it and made to look at a parking lot. He was asked if he recognized any car. He said he only wanted to talk to a lawyer.

He was then hung partially out of the window by detectives who held his ankles, the back of his pants, and the handcuffs on his wrists while they talked about how it would be a shame if he were to fall in an escape attempt. He was pulled back, and while one detective held him by the cuffs, the other detective used the toilet. Grayland was given a chance to identify a car or go swim. His head was pushed into the toilet where one of the detectives had urinated.

This treatment went on for some minutes, and he was placed back into the interrogation room where the plastic bag was placed over his head, and he was hit with the telephone book again.

The other detective was told to sit at the door. He would just look at Grayland, then get up and put the plastic bag over Grayland's head. Sometimes Grayland would hear the door open and hear people laughing. When he was gagging for air, the bag would be loosened, the door would open and close, then this officer took the bag off. "Guess who, nigger?" the detective asked. Another officer hit Grayland and said, "Ready to sign anything? Say what we want, li'l bitch."

order to conceal the police torture. At Grayland's resentencing hearing, the court refused to consider this use of false medical evidence. Grayland recently lost a resentencing hearing after awaiting trial at Cook County Jail for six years.

Cortez Brown

Date of Torture: September 20, 1990

"It doesn't make sense to constantly herd African American men and women into the prisons across this country when they can be productive individuals in our community. How much does it cost to kill a man?"

■ Reverend PAUL JAKES, Chicago minister and supporter of Cortez Brown

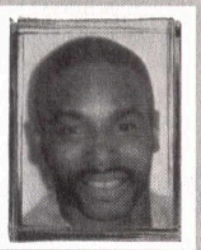
Cortez Brown is a member of the Nation of Islam and has garnered much support over the years. In 1997, the director of the Nation of Islam's Prison Reform Ministry, Abdullah Muhammad, spoke and organized a rally in support of Cortez. Abolitionists, legislators, religious figures, and family members of death row inmates attended in an effort to stop the courts from sending him back to death row after a resentencing hearing. Muhammad said, "We cannot forget political prisoners, some of whom have been in prison for the last 25 to 27 years...for standing up to give all of us freedom, justice, and equality." Despite the fact that Cortez had turned his life around and become a practicing Muslim—and despite the evidence of police abuse in his case—the judge opted for a death sentence instead of life without parole.

On September 20, 1990, Cortez was repeatedly beaten until he signed statements for two cases. In 1992, the appellate court reversed the first conviction. In February 1997, Cortez was retried in a bench trial, but because his attorney failed to investigate and present evidence of a pattern of police abuse and coerced confessions, he was found guilty and sentenced to 30 years. Although his attorney, Roger Wenthe, had the first conviction overturned and his death penalty sentence from second case remanded to circuit court, he could have easily filed a motion of discovery that would have brought out all of the evidence of torture uncovered during the OPS investigation that lead to Jon Burge's firing. However, he offered no investigation. As it states in his post-conviction petition, "the state failed to disclose that the three detectives Cortez accused of beating him to coerce a statement had been accused by others prior to this case of extracting confessions through coercion.... Moreover, the existence of a pattern of abuse by the Chicago Police Department was known by the time of the petitioner's trial." By failing to do so, the state violated its duty to reveal material exculpatory evidence under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Both of Cortez's convictions were the result of statements that he gave to those officers back in 1990. In addition, it was because of the findings in the first case that he was given the death penalty in a sentencing hearing for the second case.

The arrest and conviction of Cortez Brown was a fraud from the beginning. Stopped for a traffic violation, Chicago police took Cortez to Area 1. After repeated requests for an attorney and to see his family, officers assured him that an attorney was on his way. But then, while waiting for an attorney, police took Cortez from Area 1 to Area 3, where he was hooked to a wall and remained until the night shift came in. Officers on Burge's night watch asked Cortez what happened, and he said he was waiting to see an attorney. Officers John O'Brien, Tony Maslanka and John Paladino unhandcuffed him and began beating him with a flashlight on the back of his legs and on the head. When he still refused to give a statement, they threatened to shoot and kill family members. They again started beating him, and after hours of physical abuse without food or the use of a bathroom, Cortez was forced to sign a statement written by police that implicated him in two cases.

Frank Bounds



For hours, Frank was handcuffed to a ring on a wall while detectives questioned him about a rape and murder he didn't commit. When Frank denied any knowledge of the crime, detectives beat him and threatened his girlfriend. Fearing for his life and his girlfriend's, Frank signed a "confession," which he never even fully read.

But then he got sick. To see a guy go from being healthy, energetic and playful to being nothing—that's hard to chew on. It's like it happened overnight. "I keep a lot of things unsaid that need to be expressed on the inside," he wrote in a letter to his mother before he died. "And what comes out is my pain and bitterness. We don't have to accept crap from anyone, even ourselves. We need to demand better and do better whenever the opportunity arises."

Frank Bounds

Date of torture: October 6, 1987

"We need to demand better and do better whenever the opportunity arises."

■ FRANK BOUNDS

Frank Bounds died on death row, but not by lethal injection.

On October 10, 1998, Frank died a sudden, horrible death in a hospital room—the result of untreated cancer. Only months before his death, the Illinois Supreme Court ordered an evidentiary hearing in his case, but Frank never got the chance to clear his name through the courts. Prison medical officials diagnosed Frank with lung cancer, but it was too late.

Frank was an easy target for the police. He was poor and Black. According to trial transcripts, the state had no physical evidence against him and no eyewitnesses linking Frank to the crime. Witnesses who could support Frank's alibi weren't called to testify during his trial.

In spite of all of Frank's difficulties, he was always thinking of others. In fact, at the time of his arrest he was passing out literature for the homeless in downtown Chicago, ironically at Daley Plaza. He was taken to Area 3 headquarters, placed in an interrogation room without access to an attorney, and brutally beaten.

While on death row, Frank learned the law and worked on his case from the inside. "He wasn't into any nonsense," said Death Row 10 member Ronnie Kitchen. "He was like a peacekeeper."

Today, his mother Costella draws inspiration from her deep love and devotion as a practicing Evangelist and has turned her grief and sorrow into strength and determination to clear Frank's name and stand tall with all of the other mothers of the Death Row 10.

"The System is Broken"

The horrific experiences of the Death Row 10 at the hands of police pose a troubling question: Given that Illinois criminal justice officials now acknowledge that clear evidence exists of torture in Chicago police stations, how could it be that the Death Row 10 still face execution? Combined, these men have already spent more than 140 years on death row. Why hasn't there been a rush to retry and rectify the injustices suffered by the Death Row 10?

Primarily, this injustice persists because the Death Row 10, like most people on death row, are poor and Black. They are victims of a racist criminal justice system that uses them as scapegoats to divert attention away from the real roots of crime—poverty, substandard education, and dead-end, low-wage jobs. Secondly, the Death Row 10 are forced to make their appeals before the same corrupt officials who convicted them in the first place. In Chicago and elsewhere, the foxes are given the job of watching the henhouse. Can we really expect police, prosecutors, judges, and state's attorneys, who have built their careers on these high-profile death penalty convictions, to risk everything and come clean? Burge sits on a fat pension right now because, if he didn't, he might talk. They all look out for each other. This isn't conspiracy theory. It's business as usual in Illinois—and across the country.

"The system is not working.... Innocent people are being sentenced to death. If these men dodged the executioner, it was only because of luck and the dedication of the attorneys, reporters, family members, and volunteers who labored to win their release. They survived despite the criminal justice system, not because of it.... One must wonder how many others have not been so fortunate."
■ Illinois Supreme Court Justice MOSES W. HARRISON II, 1998

This view—that the Illinois death penalty system is broken—is now widespread. Illinois Governor George Ryan declared a moratorium on the death penalty on January 31, 1999, saying, "It's clear that the system is broken.... [It is] fraught with error and has come so close to the ultimate nightmare.... Until I can be sure with moral certainty that no innocent man or woman is facing lethal injection, no one will meet that fate." Ryan's announcement followed on the heels of a *Chicago Tribune* investigative series, "Failure of the Death Penalty in Illinois," by Steve Mills and Ken Armstrong, which documented the many horrors of the death penalty in that state. A 1998 *Tribune* series, "Trial and Error: How Prosecutors Sacrifice to Win Justice," by Ken Armstrong and Maurice Possley focused on prosecutorial misconduct and the death penalty.

What follows is a summary of the many problems with the death penalty in Illinois.

It sentences the innocent to die

Illinois has the worst execution rate in the country. Since the reinstatement of the death penalty in 1976, Illinois has executed 12 people, while releasing 13. Nationally, one person is released, on average, for every seven executed.

It's racist

Out of 176 people on death row in Illinois, 67 percent are Black. Blacks make up only 13 percent of Illinois' population.

It discriminates against the poor

In Illinois, as well as everywhere else, the wealthy avoid convictions and tough sentences with good lawyers, and poor people go to prison. In 1998, the Illinois General Assembly passed a bill that makes approximately $17 million available annually for poor defendants in capital cases. This was solely the result of the movement for the moratorium generated around the release of Anthony Porter in February 1998.

Many on death row in Illinois are there because they couldn't afford a decent lawyer. Attorneys who had been or would later be disbarred or suspended from practicing law represented thirty-three defendants who were sentenced to death at trial. Defense lawyers appointed by the Illinois courts in capital cases have included a tax lawyer who had never tried a capital case before, an attorney who was only two years out of law school, and an attorney just 10 days off a suspension for incompetence and dishonesty. Four of the 13 death row inmates who have been released in Illinois were represented at trial by attorneys who have been disbarred or suspended. At least 100 defendants sentenced to death in Illinois were represented at trial by only one attorney, even though two or more lawyers are recommended due to the unique challenges of capital cases.

Illinois is one of the few states where there are no minimum standards for attorneys in capital cases. Since 1976, 26 Illinois death row inmates have received new trials on the basis of inadequate counsel.

It has the worst prosecutors

"With impunity, prosecutors across the country have violated their oaths and the law, committing the worst kinds of deceptions in the most serious cases. They have prosecuted black men, hiding evidence that the real killers were white. They have prosecuted a wife, hiding evidence her husband committed suicide. They have prosecuted parents, hiding evidence their daughter was killed by wild dogs." This is how the *Chicago Tribune* summed up the conduct of overzealous Illinois prosecutors. *Tribune* reporters examined 11,000 court rulings and other legal research that described wrongful convictions or misconduct by prosecutors. They found that prosecutors who lie and cheat in order to win cases and increase their chances of promotion were largely to blame for the crisis in the Illi-

nois criminal justice system. They also found that prosecutors cheat "to win...because they won't get punished." As a consequence, the state relies on improper and even illegal methods in the administration of its most severe punishment.

Prosecutors build cases around unreliable jailhouse informants, medieval forensics methods such as the visual comparison of hairs, and racist jury selection. This is why innocent people end up on death row.

The *Tribune* found that Illinois had the second-highest total of capital convictions overturned in the country. Nationwide, of the 381 people whose homicide convictions were thrown out because prosecutors withheld evidence favorable to the defendant or knowingly used false evidence, 46 were tried in Illinois. The series also uncovered three Cook County prosecutors who were disciplined for official misconduct and yet were still promoted to supervisors in the Cook County State's Attorney's Office. Ultimately, all three were elected judges.

In short, prosecutors are the administrators of a system of capital punishment in Illinois that is utterly biased and corrupt. We can therefore be fairly certain not only that there are innocent people on death row in Illinois today, but that innocent people have actually been executed. Illinois Supreme Court Justice Moses Harrison II aptly summed up the crisis late in 1998 when he told his fellow justices that he would no longer vote to uphold the death penalty. "The system is not working," he said. "Innocent people are being sentenced to death. If these men dodged the executioner, it was only because of luck and the dedication of the attorneys, reporters, family members, and volunteers who labored to win their release. They survived despite the criminal justice system, not because of it.... One must wonder how many others have not been so fortunate."

It relies on corrupt judges

Judges in Illinois are sworn to uphold the laws of the land and pursue justice for everyone. Yet, they have committed some of the most flagrant abuses. Judges favorable to the prosecution are known by inmates and legal experts as "heater" judges. In order for Burge to get away with what he did for 20 years, a system had to exist in which no judge would believe a defendant over a detective. In many cases, close collaboration between police, prosecutors, and judges came naturally, as prosecutors who were used to working with police became judges later in their careers. To cite just one example, the judge in Stanley Howard's case was a former Chicago police officer from Area 2. In some cases, heater judges strayed so far from ethical judicial conduct that they were kicked off the bench or sent to prison for corruption. Judge Thomas Maloney, for example, got caught taking a bribe in the case of Nathson Fields—a wrongfully convicted Illinois death row inmate—and is now serving 15 years in a federal penitentiary.

It has dirty politicians

The final ingredient in this exposé of the failed death penalty system in Illinois is a political establishment that has allowed these injustices to go on for years. Politicians such as Mayor Richard Daley and State's Attorney Dick Devine are clear examples of the role that politicians play in the administration of the death penalty system. First, they run for office by promising a "war on crime" that encourages the use of overzealous police and prosecutorial tactics. Then, they deny, downplay, and dispute anything that calls into question their policies. Instead, they heap blame and scorn on the alleged perpetrators. That's why Daley did everything in his power to keep the Goldston report a secret. Today, Devine continues to assert that Burge didn't torture anyone.

In a meeting between the Reverend Jesse Jackson Sr., Dick Devine, and members of the Campaign to End the Death Penalty, Devine gave a watered-down promise to scrutinize every death penalty case in Illinois. But a recent decision in another police torture case shows that any commitment to pursue justice is too much for him. Darrell Cannon, a 50-year-old police torture victim, accepted a plea bargain to get out in three years. The price was that he had to plead guilty to murder. In a *Chicago Tribune* editorial entitled "Devine's Deal Adds Insult to Injustice of Police Torture," Eric Zorn writes: "Let there be no mistaking what happened Friday in the Darrell Cannon case. Cook County State's Attorney Dick Devine ran away and hid yet again from the disgraceful police-torture scandal—a scandal that becomes increasingly scandalous with every new such evasion." Zorn explains that overwhelming evidence exposes how Chicago police tortured confessions out of dozens of suspects from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s. "City lawyers have admitted it, internal Police Department investigations have confirmed it, state and federal courts have recognized it and internationally respected experts in police torture have testified to it. But Daley and Devine have their own necks to worry about since they built their careers defending Burge and prosecuting some of the members of the Death Row 10. In short, they are defenders of the death penalty system and are willing to use any means necessary to keep it from unraveling."

After the meeting, Reverend Jackson issued a statement about the injustices committed by Devine and all of the other officials who have played a role in the Death Row 10's cases. "Perhaps one of the greatest injustices is to be imprisoned wrongly," said Jackson. "Our jails are full of Black and brown men because our society does not value their lives. Here in Illinois, Governor Ryan declared a moratorium after 13 innocent men were freed from Illinois' death row. The moratorium has temporarily stopped the killing. But there are men who sit on death row today who were tortured by Chicago police officers. I visited seven of these men on Death Row on New Year's Eve [2000] along with three Death Row 10 moms and members of Rainbow/PUSH Coalition and the Campaign to End the Death Penalty. I wanted to end the year by going to death row in an attempt to mobilize public consciousness around the nation on the issue of the death penalty."

On New Year's Eve 2000, the Reverend Jesse Jackson Sr. went to Pontiac's death row to meet members of the Death Row 10. Joining him were (from left to right) Joan Parkin from the Campaign to End the Death Penalty; Jeannette Johnson, the mother of Stanley Howard; Keiana Peyton, national press secretary for Jesse Jackson Sr.; Jackson Sr.; Louva Bell, the mother of Ronald Kitchen; Costella Cannon, the mother of Frank Bounds; and Alice Kim from the Campaign to End the Death Penalty.

"The Death Row 10's stories of torture are horrific," Jackson continued. "It is heart wrenching that our society still accepts these practices. Guilty or innocent, torture is wrong."

Winning a Moratorium on the Death Penalty in Illinois

Republican Governor George Ryan made Illinois the first state in the nation to declare a moratorium on executions since the death penalty was reinstated in 1976. Ryan's decision followed a yearlong public campaign by anti–death penalty activists, family members of death row inmates, victims of police brutality, and the wrongfully convicted. Together, these efforts attracted increased media attention to issues surrounding the death penalty and the criminal justice system. Less than a week before Ryan's decision, mothers of the Death Row 10 and some of Illinois' wrongfully convicted testified before an Illinois House of Representatives committee that was considering a two-year moratorium bill. So on January 31, 2000—shortly after the release of the 13th wrongfully convicted death row inmate in Illinois—Ryan decided the time had come to act. The decision was immensely popular, garnering the support of 80 percent of Illinois voters in public opinion polls.

The political significance of Governor Ryan's decision to declare moratorium is hard to overstate. Ryan is a pro–death penalty Republican who headed up George W. Bush's presidential campaign in Illinois. As governor of Texas, Bush oversaw more executions than any governor in U.S. history. The Illinois moratorium sparked a national debate on the death penalty, causing splits and debates within both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Legislators in city, state, and federal government sponsored resolutions calling for local and national death penalty moratoriums. In April 2000, some of the same activists who pushed Ryan into declaring a moratorium spoke at a national press conference in Washington, D.C., with Illinois Representative Jesse Jackson Jr. to support his bill for a seven-year nationwide moratorium on executions.

"My concern is not just with the death penalty as a singular issue; it's with the entire criminal justice system. If innocent people are sentenced to death—cases that get all kinds of scrutiny—what does that say about invisible, low-level cases, drug cases and so on?... I question the entire system and the people connected with it."

■ Illinois Gov. GEORGE RYAN (*The Nation*, January 8, 2001)

Illinois Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr. addresses a press conference for a national moratorium on the death penalty. To his right are Gary Gauger, exonerated Illinois death row inmate; Costella Cannon, mother of Frank Bounds; Louva Bell, mother of Ronald Kitchen; Ronald Jones, exonerated Illinois death row inmate; and Darby Tillis, exonerated Illinois death row inmate.

After years of legislation and court rulings that introduced the death penalty into more states and sped up the rate of executions, the tide is finally turning. In addition to Representative Jackson's moratorium legislation, five U.S. senators joined forces to urge the Clinton administration to declare a moratorium. Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy proposed the Innocence Act, which would provide DNA testing for inmates trying to prove their innocence. Wisconsin Senator Russell Feingold introduced a bill to eliminate the federal death penalty. On March 9, 2000, the New Hampshire House voted 191 to 163 to abolish the death penalty, though New Hampshire's Democratic governor vetoed it. City councils in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Baltimore, and many other cities have passed resolutions calling on their governors to halt executions in their respective states. Even conservative television evangelist Pat Robertson has called for a national moratorium, expressing concern that there are innocent people on death row today.

Crucially, the taste of victory in Illinois has helped to renew grassroots struggle. Thousands protested across the country against the execution of Texas death row inmate Shaka Sankofa (formerly known as Gary Graham). Sankofa was convicted on the basis of the testimony of a single eyewitness. The witness claimed that she could identify Sankofa, even though she had been standing 40 feet away in a dark parking lot at the time of the crime. Thousands of anti–death penalty protesters also marched and protested at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions in the summer of 2000. Last spring, more than 1,000 people attended a rally and 200 were arrested for acts of civil disobedience at the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington, D.C. The protesters had assembled on behalf of Pennsylvania death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal, one of the world's best-known political prisoners. In New York, thousands protested around the "not guilty" verdicts of four police officers who shot and killed unarmed West African immigrant Amadou Diallo in a hail of 41 bullets. In New York City, anti–death penalty activists crashed a fundraiser during then–presidential candidate Bush's campaign and dropped from a balcony the pictures of people recently executed in Texas, which fell onto the $1,000-a-plate chicken cordon bleu dinners of Bush supporters.

The victory in Illinois has had such a national impact because the failure of its death penalty system is not at all unique. The miscarriages of justice found in Illinois exist on every death row in the United States.

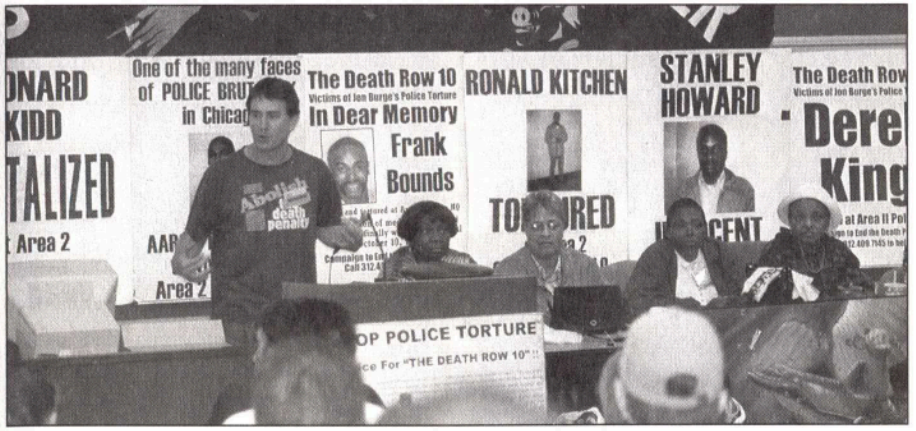
The Death Row 10 Campaign

After decades of bitter isolation and silence, the Death Row 10 began to organize in the summer of 1998. Because of countless meetings, rallies, press conferences, acts of civil disobedience, appeals to the federal government from state representatives, and extended local and national press coverage, some officials and courts have begun to take notice. Four of the Death Row 10 have won hearings that could lead to new trials.

Moreover, their fight has had an impact on the Illinois moratorium struggle. Less than a week before Governor Ryan declared a moratorium, Costella Cannon, Grace Bell, and Jeanette Johnson—all of whom have sons on death row—gave impassioned pleas during testimony before Illinois House legislators about the issue of police torture. The Death Row 10 mothers are determined to win justice for their sons. Even though some of them had never done public speaking, they ignored their fears and spoke at press conferences with U.S. Congressman Bobby Rush, Illinois State Representative Constance Howard, and Reverend Jesse Jackson. Wherever they went, they floored audiences as they spoke of the horror their sons endured and of their fight to win justice. As members of the Campaign to End the Death Penalty, they helped to organize "Live from Death Row" panels attended by standing-room–only crowds who came to hear their sons speak via speakerphone.

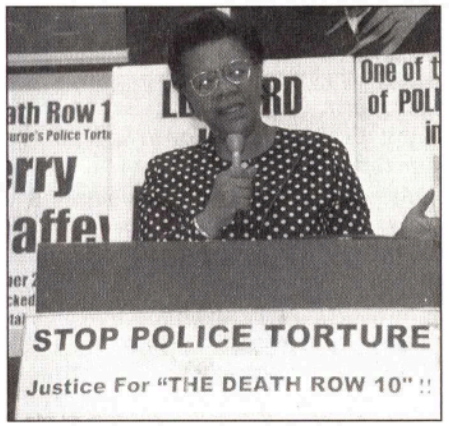
Our efforts to win new trials for the Death Row 10 have never coincided with a more favorable climate against the death penalty. That's why what we do matters now more than ever. As long as officials like State's Attorney Dick Devine continue to deny that torture took place, family members, abolitionists, and other supporters must continue to put pressure on public officials to make them do the right thing. We should pressure Devine to throw out the "confessions" and grant new hearings for the Death Row 10.

But we still have a fight before us. "For all of the positive developments in Illinois over the past several years, the Death Row 10 have yet to find justice," explains Larry Marshall, legal director of the Center on Wrongful Convictions at Northwestern University. "The City of Chicago has admitted that torture was occurring in Area 2, and the Chicago Police Department's Office of Professional



Mothers of the Death Row 10 and Mike Stark from the Campaign to End the Death Penalty speak at a meeting

Juanita Rhymes, mother of Derrick King



Joanne Patterson, mother of Aaron Patterson

Standards has reached the same conclusion. Yet, the rogue officers who engaged in such atrocities have never been held criminally accountable, and those who make strong claims that they were victims of torture have never been given their days in court to prove their allegations. One cannot help but be reminded of Bob Dylan's classic line about Rubin 'Hurricane' Carter: 'Now all the criminals in their coats and their ties, are free to drink martinis and watch the sun rise, while Rubin sits like Buddha in a ten-foot cell, an innocent man in a living hell.'"

Each of us has a role to play in getting out the word about the Death Row 10 and showing the world that officials such as Devine have the blood of Burge's torture victims on their hands. Whether by organizing a meeting in your school or workplace, attending a rally, circulating petitions, or simply wearing a button, please join the Death Row 10's fight for justice. In the section of this pamphlet entitled "How You Can Get Involved," you will find a form to fill out and return to us. You will also find a model letter that you can use to write to State's Attorney Devine to demand that the Death Row 10 get their days in court. If the police can use torture to extract confessions and put people on death row, are any of us safe?

The Campaign to End the Death Penalty

The Campaign to End the Death Penalty is committed to building a grassroots movement to abolish the death penalty in the United States. The stories of the Death Row 10 are the clearest reasons why this campaign must be undertaken. Their cases show that the politicians and officials who run America's criminal justice system consistently defend even its worst excesses. Therefore, justice can only be won by building a movement that insists on it despite official intransigence.

The case against the Illinois death penalty applies to the death penalty across the country. As a *New York Times* editorial put it shortly after Governor Ryan declared the Illinois moratorium: "Illinois is not the only state with a capital justice system so flawed that it cannot ensure that innocent people are spared. The solution ultimately is to end capital punishment, a system that cannot afford to mete out a single mistaken sentence." In fact, the U.S. is the only Western country that continues to "tinker with the machinery of death," as a former U.S. Supreme Court justice put it. The U.S., Iran, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Yemen are the only countries in the world since 1990 that have executed people who were convicted of crimes committed when they were juveniles.

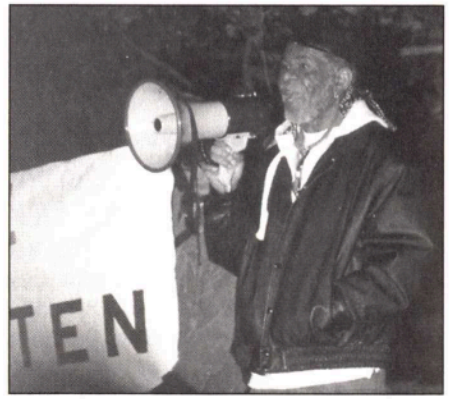
Though proponents of the death penalty claim that it deters crime, no credible study has ever been able to demonstrate such an effect. In fact, states that have the death penalty have, on average, higher murder rates than states that do not. Between 1982 and 1991, Texas became the national leader in executions. During the same period, the state also experienced a tremendous growth in its violent crime rate. While the national violent crime rate rose in this period by 5 percent, in Texas the rate rose by 45 percent. A strong case can be made that, rather than decreasing the number of murders, capital punishment actually has a brutalizing effect on society, contributing to an increase in incidents of murder.

By publicizing these and other problems, a movement can succeed in abolishing the death penalty once and for all. In 1972, the U.S. Supreme Court halted the death penalty because of the arbitrary and racist manner in which it was applied. In 1976, the death penalty was reinstated with the requirement that each state choosing to carry out executions had to institute standards to remove bias in its application. Yet, in the 38 states that today use the death penalty, a disproportionate number of death row inmates come from the poorest neighborhoods in America.

Across the country, 43 percent of those on death row are Black, while only 12 percent of the U.S. population is Black. Even more terrifying, a recent study by Columbia University law professor James Liebman documented that two-thirds of all death penalty convictions are plagued with "serious, reversible error"—often the result of prosecutorial misconduct and/or incompetent defense attorneys.

The civil rights movement of the 1960s succeeded in highlighting racism throughout society. But as the movement subsided, so did the pressure on U.S. institutions to cleanse themselves of racial discrimination. The regressive crime policies of the Clinton administration only made these problems worse. Former President Clinton's 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act eliminated funding for death penalty resource centers that helped poor, disproportionately Black defendants with death row trials and appeals. It also restricted federal judicial review of death penalty convictions, making it more difficult for death row inmates to get justice in higher courts when it is denied to them at the state level. During Clinton's eight years in office, the execution rate tripled along with the numbers of people put on death row. At the same time, the release of the wrongfully convicted has hit record highs.

Given President Bush's record as Texas governor, anti–death penalty activists have a serious fight on their hands. Bush ran the Texas killing machine at breakneck speeds, overseeing the execution of 152 people in six years. He didn't grant clemency to a single death row inmate in those years. During the presidential debates, he smirked with pride as he described his support for the death penalty. With the "Texecutioner" in the White House, the struggle to abolish the death penalty needs to be ratcheted up another notch.



Ronald Jones, exonerated Illinois death row inamate, speaks at a rally for the Death Row 10

That's what the Campaign to End the Death Penalty is all about. We have joined with other abolitionist forces to call for a national moratorium in the United States. Modeling our efforts on the civil rights movement of the 1960s, we focus on grassroots organizing. We hold meetings and forums to bring people together to learn about the issues, and we organize demonstrations and protests to publicize our cause and to confront lawmakers and politicians who want to hide behind a wall of silence.

Jesse Jackson Sr.; Alice Kim, national organizer for the Campaign to End the Death Penalty; and Larry Marshall, legal director of the Center on Wrongful Convictions, speak at a Campaign event on one-year anniversary of the Illinois moratorium.

Examples of our work include a national press conference with Illinois Representative Jesse Jackson Jr. on the steps of the Capitol to publicize his national moratorium

bill, which would halt executions across the country for seven years. The press conference brought together wrongfully convicted Illinois death row inmates Darby Tillis, Gary Gauger, and Ronald Jones; mothers of the Death Row 10; and the Washington, D.C., organizer of the Campaign to End the Death Penalty, Mike Stark. In San Francisco, Campaign activists got inside a Bush fundraiser during the 2000 presidential race and started chanting, "Stop the executions! Moratorium now!" In Austin, Texas, the Campaign organized a rally of 300 people outside then-Governor Bush's mansion in protest of the execution of Shaka Sankofa (formerly known as Gary Graham). The Campaign also started an open letter addressed to the president that asks for a moratorium on federal executions. Actors Susan Sarandon and Tim Robbins, Representative Jesse Jackson Jr., Reverend Jesse Jackson Sr., and Sister Helen Prejean, among others, have signed the letter. And, of course, Campaign members are organizers and participants in the movement to save internationally recognized political prisoner and Pennsylvania death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The New Abolitionist
Racism on federal death row exposed
Stop the racist death penalty!

The New Abolitionist

Our slogan is "Moratorium Now! Abolition Next!" Join the Campaign to End the Death Penalty and help to build a growing grassroots movement that can bring together young and old, Black and white, students, workers, and victims of the criminal justice system to fight against the injustices of the death penalty.

If you're interested in additional resources...

For anyone interested in further research, there are a number of useful sources. "House of Screams" by investigative journalist John Conroy is an excellent introduction (*Chicago Reader,* January 26, 1990). Conroy also published a book that deals in part with Chicago police torture (*Unspeakable Acts, Ordinary People: The Dynamics of Torture*, Alfred A. Knopf, March 2000). The *Chicago Tribune* produced two award-winning five-part series on the Illinois criminal injustice system. The first, written by Ken Armstrong and Maurice Possley, describes how prosecutors sacrificed justice to win convictions ("Trial and Error," five days beginning January 8, 1999). The second, written by Ken Armstrong and Steve Mills, documents how so many innocent men ended up on death row in Illinois and deals with police torture and many Death Row 10 cases ("Failure of the Death Penalty in Illinois," five days beginning November 14, 1999; the fourth installment was called "A Tortured Path to Death Row"). To get the full story on the cover-up in Stanley Howard's case, see the article by *Chicago Tribune* reporter Steve Mills from April 4, 1999. *Chicago Sun-Times* reporter Charles Nicodemus wrote a full-page story on the first rally held outside State's Attorney Dick Devine's office about the Death Row 10 ("Cop Links 10 Capital Cases," *Chicago Sun-Times*, February 26, 1999). And Amnesty International documented many of the atrocities early on (*Allegations of Police Torture in Chicago, Illinois,* Amnesty International, United States of America, 1990).

There have also been a number of TV documentaries on police torture and the Death Row 10. NBC recently did a short special on Madison Hobley. Geraldo Rivera aired a documentary on NBC called "Deadly Justice" on September 3, 2000, which described the case of Madison Hobley and interviewed family members of the Death Row 10. In January 2000, "60 Minutes II" did a special on the Death Row 10 that includes an interview with Dick Devine. There is also an excellent documentary called "The End of The Nightstick: Confronting Police Torture in Chicago" (First Run/Icarus Films), which chronicles the struggle that led to the forced retirement of Jon Burge in 1993.

Finally, you can get the Goldston Report—the report on the findings of the internal police investigation of Jon Burge—by calling the Chicago Police Department's Office of Professional Standards.

How you can get involved

1. Join the campaign to win justice for the Death Row 10.

Call the Campaign's national office at 773-955-4841 and volunteer to help with the Death Row 10 campaign. Order pamphlets and buttons to sell to friends, coworkers, and students to help publicize this fight. You can also write a letter to politicians and officials connected to the Death Row 10 and demand new trials (see below).

2. Get involved with a local chapter of the Campaign to End the Death Penalty.

Call the national office to find out about chapters in your area. Show a video about the Death Row 10. Organize a meeting, do a report, talk about the Death Row 10 at other events such as police brutality protests, church assemblies, and union meetings. Subscribe to the *New Abolitionist*, and see our Web site at www.nodeathpenalty.org.

3. Sign your name to the growing list of those who support the Death Row 10. Use the form below.

Clip and send this form.

Sign up now!

- ❑ **I want to add my name to the list of those who support the Death Row 10.**
- ❑ **I want to join the Campaign to End the Death Penalty.**
- ❑ **I want to subscribe to the *New Abolitionist*, the newsletter of the Campaign to End the Death Penalty. I'm enclosing $12 for a one-year subscription (six issues).**
- ❑ **I want to make a donation to the Campaign to End the Death Penalty in the amount of $_____.**

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone ( ) _____

E-mail _____

DR10

Make checks payable to "Campaign to End the Death Penalty" and send to P.O. Box 25730, Chicago, IL 60625.

4. You can also contact State's Attorney Dick Devine and other officials who should take action to insure that the Death Row 10 receive new trials. This model letter can help get you started.

State's Attorney Richard A. Devine
2650 S. California Ave.
Chicago, IL 60608
773-869-6249

Mr. Devine,

On behalf of the 13 police torture victims on death row in Illinois who are known as the Death Row Ten, I would like to express my concern that your office still refuses to conduct an investigation into their torture claims. I understand that Madison Hobley, Aaron Patterson, Stanley Howard, Ronald Kitchen, Leroy Orange, Andrew Maxwell, Leonard Kidd, Derrick King, Reginald and Jerry Mahaffey, Grayland Johnson, Cortez Brown, and Frank Bounds (who is now deceased) were all tortured and abused by former police commander Jon Burge and/or officers working under his command. After suffering unspeakable torture and brutality, these men allegedly signed or made "confessions" that were then used, mainly or in part, to obtain convictions in their capital murder trials.

I find this shocking. Yet, these men are still struggling to receive fair trials—even though the torture they suffered has been extensively documented and undeniably confirmed by many reputable sources, including the Chicago Police Department's own Office of Professional Standards.

I stand with the growing number of people who have watched this travesty of justice unfold for more than a decade. I want to see this outrage corrected. Your office should stop trying to deny the claims of torture brought by the Death Row 10, and you should cease your malicious efforts to thwart justice in their cases.

I urge you to grant them a hearing.

Thank you for your time in this urgent matter.

Sincerely,

Justice for the Death Row 10

OTHER RELEVANT PEOPLE TO CONTACT:

GOVERNOR GEORGE RYAN
Office of the Governor
207 Statehouse
Springfield, IL 62706
217-782-6830 voice
217-524-4049 fax

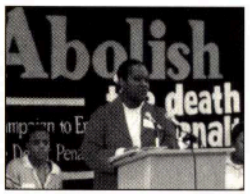
ILLINOIS ATTORNEY GENERAL JIM RYAN
500 S. Second St.
Springfield IL 62706.
217-782-1090 voice
attorney_general@state.il.us

MAYOR RICHARD DALEY
121 N. LaSalle St.
City Hall, Room 507
Chicago, IL 60602
312-744-3300 voice
312-744-2324 fax

TERRY G. HILLARD
Superintendent of the Chicago Police Department
3510 S. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, IL 60653
312-745-6100 voice
312-745-6963 fax

MATT BETTENHAUSEN
Executive Director of Governor's Commission on Capital Punishment
James R. Thompson Center
100 West Randolph St.
Suite 16-100
Chicago, IL 60601
312-814-2166 voice

U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL JOHN ASHCROFT
U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20530-0001



Tonya D. McClary is a criminal defense/civil rights lawyer and activist. She is currently serving as a Soros Justice Fellow with the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty in Washington, D.C. Ms. McClary also serves as Vice Chair of the American Bar Association's Section on Individual Rights and Responsibilities Death Penalty Committee.

Joan Parkin is a national organizer for the Campaign to End the Death Penalty. She contributes regularly to *The New Abolitionist*, the newsletter of the Campaign to End the Death Penalty. She is also a member of the International Socialist Organization.

Special thanks to Mikki Smith for proofreading.